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given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo.

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

IRNÖRTITI TO THE TI

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *teuol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310).

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become

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234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their attend-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
623 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

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the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance.

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pôdu* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*.

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuxinörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed:—

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy.

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time.

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *modwal* or sacred day of the village or on the *palimol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

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782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.
234 The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*;
673 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.
689 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmakh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[76] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatsuol*, or day

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others.

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpoli*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *polikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible.

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed.

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

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753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
782 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madnol* or sacred days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*. The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :—

Iv kur	*ulliimk,*	*pirsk*	*ullikk en,*	*irnörtkin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo." [1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
782 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
783 a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
673 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
796 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

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688 782 783 673 796 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering is only made when the sin has already had evil consequences and it is made in order to remove these consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

THE IRNÖRTITI CEREMONY

778 796 618 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages, usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 796 621 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the

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618 796 621 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off, goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 783 688 796 618 621 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are not due to any offence committed by the man. In some cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 783 618 796 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

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Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *terersthi* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *teuol*, the death of Tersveli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

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753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

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the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of *pilinörtiti* to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

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782 783 688 618 796 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.

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Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules[1] are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 626 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*. 527 769 787

[1] [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days.--- Analyst]

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In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Pardeu, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθɯṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tɯṭ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiȷ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund no:ṭ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθɯṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töuno:ṭ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töuno:ṭ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as a:ṭ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is no:ṭ "sacred place." Within the no:ṭ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no:ṭ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or no:ṭ "sacred place" or töuno:ṭ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which